

Message Text

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NODIS

MIL ADDRESSEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM TOKYO MAY 29:

QUOTE S E C R E T TOKYO 7911

NODIS

DEPT. PLEASE PASS TO SEOUL AND CINCPAC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PFOR, KS, JA

SUBJECT: BROWN/HABIB CONSULTATIONS WITH JAPAN DEFENSE AGENCY

FOLLOWING WAS NOT REVIEWED BY PRINCIPALS BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE.

1. CHAIRMAN BROWN AND UNDER SECRETARY HABIB CONTINUED
CONSULTATIONS WITH GOJ AT MEETING MAY 28 WITH DEFENSE
OFFICIALS LEAD BY DEFENSE AGENCY DIRECTOR GENERAL MIHARA,
VICE MINISTER MARUYAMA, AND JOINT STAFF COUNCIL CHAIRMAN
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ADMIRAL SAMEJIMA. BROWN OPENED BY STATING HE WISHED TO
OUTLINE SOME OF SPECIFIC FACTORS INVOLVED IN PLANNED
WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES FROM KOREA AND TO HEAR
JAPANESE VIEWS OF THIS SUBJECT. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS
DETERMINED THAT US WILL REMAIN A PACIFIC POWER, THAT IT
WILL FULLY UPHOLD ITS SECURITY TREATY COMMITMENT TO ROK,
BUT THAT BECAUSE OF ROK ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND MILITARY
STRENGTH, THE TIME HAD COME TO INITIATE PHASED WITH-
DRAWAL OF US GROUND FORCES FROM ROK, LEAVING AIR UNITS
IN KOREA AND NAVAL FORCES IN PACIFIC. PLAN ENVISAGES

PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES OVER 4-5 YEAR PERIOD, DURING WHICH, WITH CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT WE HOPE TO OBTAIN, WE INTEND TO TRANSFER TO ROK CERTAIN EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS FROM US SECOND DIVISION, SO THAT MILITARY BALANCE ON KOREAN PENINSULA WOULD NOT BE DISTURBED. (THIS WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO ONGOING FIVE YEAR FORCE IMPROVEMENT PLAN.) POSSIBLE EXAMPLES INCLUDE ADDITIONAL ANTI-TANK WEAPONS, ADDITIONAL TANKS, AND COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT TOGETHER WITH THE TRAINING NECESSARY FOR THEIR USE AND MAINTENANCE. US-ROK MILITARY STAFF DISCUSSIONS HAVE JUST BEGUN CONCERNING SPECIFIC DETAILS OF EQUIPMENT TRANSFER AND TRAINING. RESULTS IN GENERAL FORM SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR PRESENTATION TO SECURITY CONSULTATIVE MEETING SCHEDULED FOR JULY.

2. FOLLOWING SECOND DIVISION WITHDRAWAL, PLANNING AS OF NOW ENVISAGES CONTINUED PRESENCE IN ROK OF SOME ARMY PERSONNEL TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL, COMMUNICATIONS, AND CERTAIN INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT FOR REMAINING AIR UNITS, AND TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO ROK FORCES IN AREAS WHERE THEY REMAIN DEPENDENT ON US. BROWN REITERATED THAT SECOND DIVISION WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE PHASED AND CARRIED OUT SO THAT MILITARY BALANCE NOT DRAMATICALLY EFFECTED.

3. HABIB ADDED THAT SECURITY TREATY COMMITMENT TO ROK
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REMAINS VALID AND STRONG, REFLECTING DETERMINATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND NEW ADMINISTRATION. ROK WOULD HAVE PREFERRED RETENTION OF GROUND FORCES BUT PRESIDENT PARK AND ROK LEADERSHIP ARE PRACTICAL PEOPLE WHO ARE NOW CONCENTRATING ON MEASURES TO INSURE WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES IS ACCOMPLISHED IN FASHION THAT WILL MAINTAIN SECURITY OF ROK.

4. REFERRING TO INDIVIDUALS WHO SAW SEVERE RISK IN WHAT US PROPOSED, BROWN CHARACTERIZED THIS AS MINORITY VIEW WHICH WAS NOT SUPPORTED BY US INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, BY JCS, OR BY US COMMAND IN KOREA.

5. VICE MINISTER MARUYAMA OPENED QUESTIONING BY ASKING WHETHER US DECISION REFLECTED CHANGING VIEWS OF MILITARY BALANCE ON KOREAN PENINSULA OR OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, INCLUDING ATTITUDES OF PRC AND USSR, OR WHETHER DECISION BASED PRIMARILY ON DOMESTIC REASONS WITHIN US AND ROK. BROWN REPLIED THAT PRESIDENT'S DECISION BASED PRINCIPALLY ON STRENGTH OF ROK TODAY RATHER THAN ON PURELY MILITARY FACTORS OR ON BASIS OF CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY INDICATIONS OF MAJOR SUPPORT FOR DPRK BY PRC/USSR; ON CONTRARY THEIR SUPPORT HAS BEEN RATHER MODEST. AT TIME OF KOREAN ARMISTICE, US GROUND

FORCES WERE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN DELICATE SITUATION. SITUATION HAS STABILIZED IN 24 YEARS SINCE THEN AND US HAS GRADUALLY DRAWN DOWN ITS FORCES. WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES REPRESENTS CONTINUATION OF THAT PROGRAM WHICH WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED WITH IMPROVEMENTS IN ROK FORCES AND BY DIVERSION TO THEM OF EQUIPMENT FROM SECOND DIVISION.

6. HABIB NOTED THAT REASONS FOR DECISION WERE COMPLEX. SIGNIFICANT AMONG THEM WAS OUR BELIEF THAT ROK SECURITY CAN BE ASSURED WITH SUPPORT FROM US BUT PRIMARILY ON BASIS OF KOREAN CAPACITY FOR SELFRELIANCE,
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WARRANTED BY ROK ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND MILITARY CAPABILITIES. MOREOVER, DEMONSTRATION OF THIS CAPACITY WILL ENHANCE US ABILITY TO MAINTAIN NECESSARY SUPPORT IN TERMS OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING.

7. MARUYAMA EXPRESSED OPINION THAT IN ADDITION TO STRENGTHENING ROK FORCES, SUCCESS OF WITHDRAWAL PLAN WOULD REQUIRE FAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT INVOLVING US, PRC, AND USSR. HABIB NOTED THAT IN OUR CONTACTS WITH PRC AND USSR WE HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR US COMMITMENT TO ROK. THEY ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT ADVENTURISM BY KIM IL SUNG WOULD BE PERMITTED TO OCCUR WITHOUT STRONGEST REACTION FROM US. WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT EITHER WOULD FAVOR ACCELERATION OF TENSION ON KOREAN PENINSULA AT THIS TIME. ON CONTRARY, TERMS OF OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH PRC AND USSR WOULD NOT FAVOR SUCH ACCELERATION AND TREND OF THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS WORKS AGAINST INCLINATION TO SUPPORT ADVENTURISM. THESE ARE LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS, BUT US WILL ALSO MAINTAIN DETERRENT CAPABILITY TO PUT TEETH INTO POLICY IT IS PURSUING.

8. MIHARA SAID THAT QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK WAS MOST IMPORTANT. PEACE AND SECURITY IN EAST ASIA HAS BEEN MAINTAINED BY PRESENCE OF US FORCES. US APPEARS TO BE CONTEMPLATING WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES FROM KOREA BEFORE CONSOLIDATION OF BASIC INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA. MIHARA NOTED THAT JAPAN COULD OF COURSE CONTRIBUTE TO SUCH FRAMEWORK BUT HE URGED THAT US CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED WITH THIS ASPECT OF PROBLEM.

9. MARUYAMA EXPRESSED VIEW THAT POSSIBILITY OF LARGE-SCALE CONFLICT ON KOREAN PENINSULA WAS SMALL AND THAT BECAUSE OF COMPLEX POWER BALANCE BETWEEN US, USSR AND PRC, PEACE WOULD BE MAINTAINED AS LONG AS BALANCE NOT
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BROKEN. HE ASKED, HOWEVER, THAT WE TAKE NOTE OF TREND TOWARDS INCREASED TENSION IN REGION, CITING BUILDUP OF SOVIET PACIFIC FLEET AND RECENT INCREASES IN NORTH KOREAN MILITARY CAPABILITIES. HE ALSO REFERRED TO US EMPHASIS ON EUROPE WITHIN TERMS OF OVERALL GLOBAL STRATEGY BUT POINTED TO USSR'S DEPLOYMENT OF ONE-FOURTH TO ONE-THIRD OF ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN ASIA AS EVIDENCE OF ASIA'S IMPORTANCE IN GLOBAL STRATEGIC TERMS.

10. NOTING THAT US PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES SEEMED PREMISED ON STRENGTHENING ROK FORCES, MARUYAMA EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE FULL SUPPORT FROM CONGRESS AND THAT IT MIGHT STIMULATE ARMS RACE WITH NORTH KOREA. HABIB SAID THAT PRESIDENT WAS COMMITTED TO PROGRAM AND WOULD SEEK FULL CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT. US IS NOT ESCALATING; RATHER WE ARE COMPENSATING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF OUR GROUND FORCES. DPRK ALREADY EMBARKED ON ARMS BUILDUP PROGRAM AND WE WANT TO ASSURE SUFFICIENT POWER IN ROK SO AS NOT TO TEMPT DPRK TO MISCALCULATE.

11. ADMIRAL SAMEJIMA ASKED WHETHER WITHDRAWAL PLAN INCLUDED ARMY ELEMENTS OTHER THAN SECOND DIVISION. GENERAL BROWN REPLIED THAT ALL WOULD BE WITHDRAWN ACCEPT FOR CERTAIN LOGISTIC AND SUPPORT ACTIVITIES YET TO BE DEFINED FOR SUPPORT OF AIR UNITS, FOR MANAGING CERTAIN WAR RESERVES STOCKS WHICH WILL BE MAINTAINED IN KOREA AND FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS. NUMBERS ARE YET TO BE WORKED OUT BUT AS MANY AS 6,000 MIGHT REMAIN. IN RESPONSE TO ADMIRAL SAMEJIMA'S QUESTION RE PHASING OF WITHDRAWALS, BROWN SAID WE WERE THINKING IN TERMS OF WITHDRAWING ABOUT 6,000 TROOPS INCLUDING ONE INFANTRY BRIGADE DURING 1978. DECISIONS GOING BEYOND THAT WOULD BE TAKEN FOLLOWING CURRENT CONSULTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON.

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12. SAMEJIMA ALSO ASKED FOR US THINKING ON COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS. BROWN NOTED THAT DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR ABOUT TWO YEARS ON CONTINGENCY BASIS. US AND ROK HAD REACHED AGREEMENT THAT AN ADDITIONAL COMBINED COMMAND OPERATION WOULD BE NEEDED BY TIME US FORCES START TO WITHDRAW. HOW LONG A US OFFICER WOULD REMAIN IN COMMAND HAD YET TO BE DETERMINED. HABIB ADDED THAT UNC WOULD REMAIN UNTIL ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR CONTINUATION OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND SUFFICIENT ASSURANCES OBTAINED FROM OTHER SIDE TO SUSTAIN AGREEMENT. UN COMMAND COULD NOT BE DISOLVED WITHOUT US APPROVAL IN SECURITY COUNCIL.

14. IN RESPONSE TO BROWN'S REQUEST FOR SUMMARY STATEMENT OF JAPANESE VIEWS TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT AND TO CONSIDER IN PLANNING, MIHARA OFFERED THREE POINTS: FIRST, US GROUND FORCES IN ROK ARE LAST DEPLOYED ON ASIAN CONTINENT AND THEIR PRESENCE HAS BEEN REGARDED AS SPECIAL EVIDENCE OF US COMMITMENT NOT ONLY BY ROK BUT BY OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES AS WELL. UNLESS THERE IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD RATIONALE AND PROPER INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK, THEIR WITHDRAWAL OVER 4-5 YEARS MAY BE INTERPRETED IN ASIA AS WITHDRAWAL OF US COMMITMENT. HABIB INTERJECTED TO REITERATE THAT US COMMITMENT HAS NOT BEEN DECREASED AND TO URGE THAT GOJ ASSIST IN ALLAYING SUCH CONCERNS. REAFFIRMATION OF OUR COMMITMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT AND NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD SPECIAL SIGNIFICANT IN THIS RESPECT.

15. SECOND POINT MENTIONED BY MIHARA WAS THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, INVOLVING US, PRC, AND USSR. THIS COULD NOT BE DONE BY NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA ALONE.

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16. FINALLY, PRIME MINISTER HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF US ASSISTANCE AND COMPENSATORY SUPPORT FOR STRENGTHENING OF ROK FORCES. HABIB URGED THAT JAPAN HELP BY RELECTING CONFIDENCE IN ROK SELF-RELIANT CAPABILITIES.

17. MIHARA CLOSED BY ESPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR US EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, WHICH IS IMPORTANT FOR BOTH ASIA AND JAPAN. HE ASKED THAT WE CONTINUE TO COORDINATE CLOSELY AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WITHDRAWAL OF GROUND FORCES WOULD BE CARRIED OUT SMOOTHLY AND WITH FULL COORDINATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. SHOESMITH UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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